Grandmothers Against Genocide

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THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OIL FUND ARE COMPLICIT IN THE GRAVEST CRIMES – INCLUDING TORTURE – AGAINST CHILDREN

Summary of Annex 13: "The World's Most Immoral Sovereign Wealth Fund", for case no. 16783364 241/25-26, submitted to Kripos 19 April 2026.

Summary in English 26 April 2026.

Supplement to complaint filed by Grandmothers Against Genocide against:
Prime Minister **Jonas Gahr Støre**, Finance Minister **Jens Stoltenberg**, Foreign Minister **Espen Barth Eide** and former Finance Minister **Trygve Slagsvold Vedum**, for complicity in Israel's war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

The Oil Fund is a major shareholder in RTX, and thereby contributed to the massacre in Minab

RTX is the world's second largest arms company and has supplied countless variants of bombs to Israel, which has used them to carpet-bomb civilians in Gaza. Since 7 October 2023, the Oil Fund has continuously increased its stake in RTX, and as of 31.12.25 holds shares worth **3,05 billion dollars** in the company. RTX is one of the companies that UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese specifically asked Jens Stoltenberg to divest the Fund from in May last year. Stoltenberg declined to divest. Norway is today one of the world's ten largest owners of RTX.

It has now come to light that it was Tomahawk missiles that killed the 168 schoolgirls in Minab, Iran, on 28 February, along with their 14 teachers. RTX Raytheon is the sole manufacturer of the Tomahawk. The Prime Minister should have divested the Oil Fund from RTX the moment it became clear that their Tomahawk had been used in the attack. But since 7 October, through all of Israel's massacres of children in Gaza, he has never divested from any weapon companies. The Minab massacre thus also drew no red line for the Norwegian government.

Støre has stated that the war against Iran is a violation of international law. To launch such a war by killing 168 schoolchildren is a **war crime**. The massive bombing of civilian targets that followed is a **crime against humanity,** where the criterion is *widespread and systematic*. The share value of RTX rose sharply immediately after the attack. The fact that Norway grows richer while small children are bombed to death at their school desks is yet another step down into the depths of immorality. The following examples from the Oil Fund are a small tip of a very large iceberg. The first – Monsanto – reveals a pattern of immoral investments that repeats itself over the next 20 years.

1. Children poisoned by lethal chemicals in forced labour — Monsanto India

In 2006, the Ethics Council's own report concluded that the Oil Fund's investment in Monsanto constituted *unequivocal complicity in the worst forms of child labour* i India: **20,000 children**, around **4,000 of them aged between seven and ten**, had been taken from their homes and put to work 12–14 hours a day. The work involved spraying cotton seeds with life-threatening chemicals banned in over 100 countries – without any protective equipment. Inhalation led to extensive health damage, paralysis, genetic harm and death. The Council wrote that this constituted serious human rights violations and breaches of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. There was no *risk* – complicity was a fact. The Stoltenberg government did not follow the recommendation to divest, and the Oil Fund instead *increased* the investment. After receiving the report, the Fund also *bought into* producers of the toxic chemicals, in which it had never invested before.

2. White phosphorus against civilians — Monsanto and ICL Group

The parent company Monsanto Co. was the sole US supplier of white phosphorus for Israel's white phosphorus bombs, via Israel Chemical Limited (ICL Group), which was the sole supplier to the US Army. Israel used white phosphorus bombs against civilians in Gaza in 2008–2009. They burn at 800 degrees and melt tissue down to the bone. Children suffer the worst injuries from white phosphorus bombs, if they survive, as white phosphorus burns never stop burning.

The Oil Fund's investment in Monsanto in 2006 was 114 million dollars. After receiving the report on child labour, *the Oil Fund* increased the investment in 2007. With the additional knowledge that Monsanto supplied white phosphorus for the bombs Israel used in 2008–2009, the shareholding was increased again, to a value of 487 million dollars in 2009.

Fast-forwarding to after 2001, when Støre became Prime Minister: Amnesty has documented that Israel used white phosphorus bombs **against civilians in Gaza in 2023.** Human Rights Watch has reported that Israel has used white phosphorus bombs against **17 towns in Lebanon** from October 2023 to May 2024. In February 2024, Corruption Tracker reported on inhumane suffering as a result of Israel's white phosphorus bombs in Gaza.
Monsanto was acquired by Bayer AG in 2018. With the acquisition, Bayer took over the contract as sole supplier of white phosphorus to the US Army, still via Israeli ICL.

During World War II, Bayer was part of IG Farben, which produced the Zyklon B gas the Nazis used to kill people in the concentration camps. It was also Bayer that invented heroin and patented it. Bayer marketed heroin globally as a cough medicine for children and adults, entirely without side effects, for several decades. There is no reason to harbour any illusions about the companies contributing to Israel's crimes against humanity. It is their business. The Fund has maintained the investment in the companies and never evaluated them in relation to conduct. The Oil Fund currently holds 122 million dollars ICL Group, and 708 million dollars in Bayer.

3. Torture of children in Israeli prisons

World Organisation Against Torture reported in 2001 that children *were still* being tortured in Israeli prisons. So ***torture of children in Israeli prisons*** was nothing new

twenty-five years ago. Over the years it has only gotten worse: The UN reported in 2012 that small children under twelve are being tortured in Israeli prisons.

Since 7 October 2023, the number of Palestinian children detained by Israel has risen dramatically. Children are arrested without cause, charge, law or sentence, and the UN has reported that they are subjected to severe torture and sexual abuse. The UN Human Rights Council reports that soldiers film the abuse. When soldiers film abuse, it is a source of praise from their superiors. It is now believed that even more children, and younger ones, are being held indefinitely behind Israeli prison walls.

The Committee to Protect Journalists reported in February 2026 om "*systematic and widespread torture and inhuman treatment of Palestinians, including children".* Albanese's report of 23 March 2026 "*Torture and Genocide*" documents torture – including against children. Albanese states in her report "From economy of occupation to economy of genocide" that American tech giants contribute directly to Israel's surveillance and detention regime. She names several, in which the Oil Fund is heavily invested in every one of them: **Dell, IBM, Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, Motorola, Cisco, Alphabet, Amazon, Palantir and Nvidia.**

HP, Motorola and Cisco have contracts with the Israeli Prison Service (IPS), whereby they are directly involved in the day-to-day operation of the prisons. The others offer services across all of Israel's military needs, including IPS. Microsoft is a massive supplier. Palantir is the most notorious. Nvidia is by far the largest, where the Fund holds 56 billion dollars.

The organisation *Palestinian Children in Israeli Military Prisons* (PIM) has urged the government to protest against Israel's detention regime. Close to ten thousand Palestinians remain imprisoned without law or sentence, and are being tortured in the most horrific ways – including to death. The government has never protested the detentions. Nor have they protested to Israel against the law permitting the execution of Palestinians by hanging.

The Oil Fund's rules of ethics require the exclusion of companies that contribute to torture and deprivation of liberty. The government has *increased* its investments in companies that contribute to torture in the prisons, and Stoltenberg has shielded them from divestment. Taken together, this constitutes an unambiguous encouragement of Israel's grotesque actions, in which children are the most vulnerable victims, who should have received special protection. Our leading politicians are complicit in Israel's most unthinkable crimes.

The Criminal Law Basis

The Government Pension Fund Global – the Oil Fund – has since 2004 had ethical guidelines requiring the exclusion of companies that contribute to serious human rights violations and war crimes. These rules have been systematically set aside for two decades, for investments related to Israel. In the early years, the Council on Ethics' recommendations went to the government.
Since Jens Stoltenberg's second term as Prime Minister in 2005, the Oil Fund has been invested in companies that have been directly involved in the gravest crimes against

children. It continues to do so, thereby contributing to the mutilation, torture and mass killing of children.
The actions described here fall under Chapter 16 of the Penal Code, cf. section 15 on complicity. They are based on Rome Statute Article 25(3) b–c–d, which establishes criminal liability for anyone who aids, abets, encourages or otherwise contributes to the crimes, with knowledge that they are being committed. *No one* is above the law.

Støre and Stoltenberg are the top decision-makers behind the actions that constitute complicity, and are therefore criminally liable. The Prime Minister should have divested from bomb manufacturers and weapon suppliers the moment Israel began bombing civilians in Gaza. Failing to divest when it was beyond doubt that Israel was committing crimes against humanity must have been a calculated *decision* to be complicit, for heads of state are well acquainted with the Rome Statute's articles. Our leaders have ratified them, deliver speeches celebrating them, and incorporated them into Norwegian criminal law in 2008.

Støre has often claimed that the Oil Fund should not be a political instrument. This is misleading. The Oil Fund has been the instrument through which Labour politicians have most clearly expressed their political message to Israel – one of unending support and encouragement for their crimes.
The Labour Party's support for Israel over decades has been incomprehensible. Israel's maritime blockade of Gaza was established through **the Oslo Accords**. The UN wrote in May 2025 that the warships shoot and kill children who row out from Gaza in small fishing boats trying to find food while their families starve. The Fund is invested in the company that builds the corvettes that form the backbone of the blockade, and those who make the cannons and ammunition for the warships (see Report on 20 companies). The maritime blockade enables Israel to fence in and starve an entire population.

For two and a half years, as the death toll has risen, Norway has introduced no measures against Israel. Through carpet-bombing and mass killings in Gaza now exceeding one hundred thousand people, *thirty thousand of them children*, and hundreds of thousands of children maimed for life, the government has *increased* Norway's investments in the weapon companies. Støre bears ultimate responsibility for investments that by every law and rule should have been excluded. Stoltenberg denied the investments, later defended them, and in November 2025 also *shielded* them from divestment. Their actions constitute *intent* – they are complicit knowingly and willingly.

Is complicity a criminal offence – or "merely" unlawful?

The requirement for complicity is met through ordinary or conditional intent (dolus eventualis): it is sufficient that those complained against understood or considered it possible that the extensive and increased investments in Israel's war industry *strengthen Israel's capacity and willingness* to commit the crimes. Investments that support the gravest crimes (the examples in points 1 to 3) have sent and continue to send an unambiguous signal to Israel of political and moral encouragement. This also constitutes intentional psychological complicity.
It is this decades-long *encouragement* – not a link between a single investment and a single violation – that is at the core of the criminal complicity liability of the politicians

complained against. Criminal prosecution of complicity is independent of whether the principal Israeli leaders are brought to justice.

Complicity also requires knowledge of the wrongdoing. Knowledge of Israel's grotesque crimes is in the public domain. Those who invest have also a particular duty to examine the conduct of companies. Jens Stoltenberg has also received calls from the UN's Francesca Albanese for named divestments on more than one occasion. In response, Stoltenberg told her that the Oil Fund is *not invested in any companies violating international law in Gaza*. He has received letters from more than 50 organisations in Norway, among them Save the Children, urging divestment. Jens Stoltenberg responded to Save the Children by rejecting the call. The Labour Party's leadership's support for Israel's crimes are described in greater detail in the case documents.

The Duty to Investigate

When the Rome Statute was incorporated into Norwegian criminal law in 2008 in Chapter 16, Kripos' section for international crimes was already established in 2005 to investigate cases under that chapter. The National Public Prosecution Authority responsible for international crimes (NAST) was established the same year to prosecute them.

The duty to prosecute the gravest crimes is universal, and by ratifying the Rome Statute, Norway has committed itself to investigating and potentially prosecuting these cases. That this case is investigated, clarified and potentially prosecuted is of the utmost importance, both nationally and internationally: It can demonstrate that not even Western heads of state can contribute to genocide, human rights violations and the gravest crimes with complete impunity.

Grandmothers Against Genocide
Drammen / Kongsberg, 26 April 2026